/340 cont./

Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

At the time of my stay in Caruruti, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Kamapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caruruti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 94]

/341 cont./

241 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain
● 115 Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maïzal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new corn-field was opposite the

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Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cararutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these prop-
115 erties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value
[322] were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their
[415] cups and bottles.
[824]

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maïzales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
●115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
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[585] 1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

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224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

• 115. My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
795 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
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Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

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115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-357-- Analyst]

/476 cont./
115 123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking [177] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

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laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one, a girl, Iwawasei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Consito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCIII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Consito secretly help her.

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The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Taulipang and the Makuši (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 128-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 396-398); the Choroti and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingua (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingua Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

• [115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

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[805] [191] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

773 Beliefs Relative to the Creation

• [115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/154 cont./

773 821 [115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (2).

> 2. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

Ce 539 /271 cont./

been poisoned, and he died. Aguaratunpa found him dead. He said he wanted to bring him to life again. Aguaratunpa took a plant, "ihuahuasu." With this he beat him. He leaped over him, first directly over his body, then from head to tail.

The brother came to life again and said: "I slept a long time." -- "You did not sleep, you were dead," said Aguaratunpa. The latter sent his brother to heaven (2). When it thunders,

2. Ara = vault of heaven, universe.

Aguaratunpa's brother is going for a walk.

C 539 [115]

About the Son of Tatutunpa and How He Rescued His Mother.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

In a house there was a girl, Inómu, who had never had a husband. In front of the house there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Dyori were there. The parents of the girl took her along and set her on the ground where people were busy drinking maize beer. Aguaratunpa thought that Inómu was very pretty. Tatutunpa thought so too. "I shall make the girl pregnant," he said and started to dig. Aguaratunpa stood in front. Tatutunpa dug himself into the earth and up under the girl (3).

3. Modified.

When Tatutunpa was finished, he crawled out again and told Aguaratunpa what he had done.

"I want to try too," said Aguaratunpa and crawled into the passageway. He had not gone far when he got stuck. Tatutunpa seized him by the tail and pulled him out.

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[115]

The Man Who Burned Up Añatunpa.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

When people gathered honey, Añatunpa (1) would find

1. It is not said here which añatunpa is meant.

them and devour them.

Once there was a man who gathered honey. Then Añatunpa came and asked what he was going. "I am gathering honey," said the man. "Continue," said Añatunpa. When the man had gathered enough, he killed him and tossed him to Dyóri, who devoured him and even licked up the blood. Añatunpa killed many people in this fashion.

A man had gone out to gather honey. The /287/ toucan (1)

1. Rhamphastus.

said to him: "If Añatunpa comes, ask him to carry you to his house and kill you there."

While the man was gathering honey, Añatunpa came. "What do you want?" asked the man.

"I want to eat you up," said Añatunpa.

"Do not do that here, but carry me to your house instead and eat me there," said the man. Añatunpa now took the man on his neck and carried him to his house.

"Break off branches and build a fire on Añatunpa's neck," said the toucan. When Añatunpa went through the thick /Fig. 130 appears here/ brush, the man broke off twigs and branches and carefully lighted a fire on Añatunpa's neck.

"If you come to a low branch, cling to it!" said the toucan to the man. This he did. Soon Añatunpa noticed that there was burning on his neck and he started to run. The fire grew. His hair caught fire, and soon Añatunpa burned up completely and died.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [11 5]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 301

Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

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in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

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This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano, Caipipendi. Worn by men.

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[115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

/291 cont./

539 The turtle set out and came to a "samuo" trunk with large, sharp thorns. He stool there and waited for the jaguar. In the distance he could hear his howling. The jaguar came closer, still howling, and found the turtle at the foot of the tree.

"What are you doing here?" said the jaguar.

"I am playing," said the turtle.

"What are you playing?" said the jaguar.

"I climb up the samuo and then I roll down," said the turtle.

"Let me see," said the jaguar, who had a desire to devour the turtle.

/292/ The latter climbed the trunk up to the crown and rolled down without injuring itself. This amused the jaguar, and the turtle had to climb up again. Once more it rolled down without injuring itself. The jaguar wanted to try it too. He climbed up and rolled down, but tore open his entrails on the thorns and died.

The turtle took home the claws of the jaguar as playthings for his little son.

The Love Story of the Hummingbird.

•[115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

There were two girls who heard Chinu (hummingbird) play the flute. He played so beautifully that one of the girls said: "I want him as my husband." She went to the hummingbird and slept with him.

"Let us go into my house," said the hummingbird. When they got there, it was so small that there was no room for the girl. She therefore went back to her village.

In the evening the hummingbird came to the edge of the village and played the flute, in order to lure her. The girl listened and said: "It is the hummingbird who is playing." But she did not go back to him. Every evening the hummingbird